1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

491 for vehicles to pass from the main highways over the broader trails
484 to the nearby villages in good weather. However, this is rarely attempted except by jeep, and by these only infrequently.

249 Until the last few years a number of the large usinas in the main
499 sugar cane area have not been connected with the highways. Since jeeps and trucks have become more numerous in the Recôncavo, a number of the big usinas in Santo Amaro are constructing their own outlets to the
315 highway. In recent years the government-owned oil company has been
655 drilling exploratory wells in the cane fields of São Francisco. In
491 conjunction with this enterprise, new roads have been built, and for the
499 first time many plantations of this area have road connections to the highway system.

494 Most of the traffic on the roads of the Recôncavo consists of
493 trucks and busses--private automobiles generally are found only in the urban areas, since cars are very expensive in Brazil, and the highways are very destructive. A large number of busses connect the outer Recôncavo with Salvador. The best passenger service, and the most expensive, is provided by a major bus line which has a daily run from Salvador to Feira de Santana and back. While this bus line employs large busses, most of the other busses used in the Recôncavo are small. These latter provide connections between the Southwestern Recôncavo and Salvador, and supplement the major Feira de Santana-Salvador service. The runs of many of these smaller busses originate outside the Recôncavo, but they collect and discharge passengers at each cidade. Fares are cheap, considering the cost of vehicles and fuel, but still somewhat more expensive than train travel.

Truck traffic is very heavy on the main highways, especially from Feira de Santana to Salvador. Probably most of the agricultural

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Sugar cane has proved to grow especially well with the combination of warmth, rain, and massapê, and the soil has been producing the same crop for almost four hundred years. The area of massapê is sharply defined, for at its farthest edges the land rises to the regions of sandy scrub forest and desert which characterize what has been called the "other northeast"[2] or the sertão.

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The surface of the sugar-Recôncavo is characterized by rolling fields cut by shallow valleys. Although the massapê is not subject to erosion, the other soils, where exposed, are. During the rainy winter season much damage is done, especially to the roads, which for the most part follow the non-massapê soils. Underneath the soil of the sugar-Recôncavo there are recently discovered oil deposits. The quantity of oil has not yet been determined, for the explorations are still going on. However, the national government has already begun to exploit the oil, which is close to the surface. Under Brazilian law, subsoil resources belong to the national government and not to the owner of the lands. As a result there has been a small-scale invasion of petroleum workers on the privately owned lands of the sugar-cane planters. To date, this has not interrupted the agricultural routine to any great extent, at least not in Vila Recôncavo. In Conselho (see map of community), where the drilling was first started, the government bought the land from the individuals and the sugar mill corporation owning it and has turned once green fields of sugar cane into bare fields, spotted here and there with oil wells. The former agriculturalists have had to leave the area or become laborers in the oil camps and refinery.

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The Recôncavo is one of the most densely populated regions in Brazil. It is an area of 6,500 square kilometers, with a population of 683,000 in 1940, distributed in 14 counties including the capital. It has an average density of 106 inhabitants per square kilometer,[3] in comparison with the average density of the state of Bahia, which is 7 persons per square kilometer, and with the national average of 5 persons per square kilometer.[4] It must be remembered that these figures include

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 13]

2. Preston James, Latin America (New York, 1942), p. 411.
3. Aroldo de Azevedo, "Recôncavo da Bahia," Revista da Universidade de São Paulo, I (1950), 14.
4. T. Lynn Smith, Brazil (Baton Rouge, 1947), p. 131.

2s Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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can collect bananas, which should pay for the operating costs while waiting for the cacao to mature.

At the end of a five- or six-year period, the shade tree is usually large enough to provide sufficient shade, and the banana trees are gradually removed. At the same time the cacao begins to give its fruit, and one can then consider himself a cacauicultor.

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Several planters in Vila Recôncavo are at the banana-manioc planting stage, and have met with their first serious labor problem. No one wants to work in banana and manioc fields, as the work is arduous and slow. Machines are not available for the mechanical cultivation of manioc, so the work must be done by hand. The work is slowly being accomplished, but at costs which will make the manioc a considerable liability.

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Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, there is considerable interest in cacao in Vila Recôncavo, and cacao must be considered as an element of change in the community which will have far-reaching effects. The area of sugar production will be considerably reduced, requiring adjustments on the part of the factories, which represent large financial investments. Furthermore, cacao is a fairly simple product to process--its conversion into chocolate is usually done after export --and so it is quite likely that each plantation will return to the older aspect of the plantation, both growing and processing the crop, and become once again a highly self-sufficient unit. This would of course bring about a new alignment of socio-economic relations and would undoubtedly alter the community structure.

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A third principal cause of change in Vila Recôncavo is the growth of a new and potent industry within the community and throughout the county. This new industry is the nascent Brazilian petroleum industry. Exploratory work was done in Vila Recôncavo in 1950 and 1951 under the guidance of the Conselho Nacional de Petroleo. Since that date a nationalized company, Petrobrás, has been formed to exploit the oil fields which lie under the topsoil of the county of Vila Recôncavo. Petrobrás has brought in several hundred oil wells and has built roads, pipelines, storage tanks, and machine shops. Just outside the limits of the community, but within the county, it has built its oil refinery and has created a small new, modern city to house the technical workers of the refinery and the field. On land expropriated from the Usina São Pedro it has also con-

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structed a series of barracks, a recreation hall, a restaurant, and a service center for the unmarried field workers.

In spite of this, the changes in the community structure brought about by the petroleum industry have been as yet relatively few. The industry exists in the community as an intruder, not affecting communal life to any great extent, and not contributing any substantial local benefits. This is perhaps in part due to the fact that it is a nationalized company, with headquarters located in the city of Salvador, rather than a product of local efforts. The petroleum workers for the most part have not been drawn from the local labor force but have come from outside the county. It is almost as if a military base had been established in Vila Recôncavo on a temporary basis. [464]

The effect on the town has been principally to increase the number of houses. [362] The married workers of Petrobrás for the most part live in the town. [571] Naturally there has occurred a broadening of point of view among the town dwellers as a result of social intercourse, as well as a certain new prosperity due to greater numbers. [493] Nevertheless, there are still no private cars, buses, or public transportation in the county. [494] The petroleum workers and their families go to Salvador whenever possible for shopping and amusements, rather than attempting to satisfy these needs in Vila Recôncavo, where public services, diversions, and so forth have continued to be almost nonexistent. [484]

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To counterbalance the effect of prosperity brought to the town by increased population, the petroleum industry has had an adverse effect on the fishing activities of the townspeople. Many wells have been drilled in the shallow waters of the Bay of All Saints in front of the town. As a result of underwater explosions, the constant passage of rapid motor launches, and digging and dredging machines, the traditional fishing area of the town's fishermen has been rapidly depleted and its ecological balance destroyed. The fishermen are gradually turning away from fishing as an occupation and seeking other remunerative activity, either outside the community or in the petroleum industry and, to a slight extent, in the sugar industry. Others are turning to service occupations, such as bricklaying, as stopgap activities.

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Petrobrás to date has affected rural life very little. The planters of the area have profited to some extent because of the roads constructed by the company. It is now possible to

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travel from the city to the plantations by car at almost any season of the year. It is a two-hour trip, considerably more comfortable than the old system of travel by boat and on horseback. In addition, the roads have made it possible for the planters to transport their cane more efficiently, using trucks and tractor-drawn wagons. Along with this, the refinery has led to greater supplies of diesel oil, gasoline, and kerosene, so that it is no longer necessary to transport these items from the city at great cost and delay.

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The planters have also profited in another manner. Petrobrás invaded the cane fields in its search of oil. It fenced small areas where it drilled and constructed storage tanks, and it took out of cane production a good deal of land for roads and installations. Recently a basis has been reached for paying the planters in a satisfactory manner for the use of the lands. As a result each planter whose land is partially occupied now receives an annual cash payment based on what the occupied land could produce. As yet no arrangements have been made for the landowners to participate in the profits of Petrobrás, since all subsoil riches belong to the nation, and therefore in this case to Petrobrás.

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There has been little social intercourse between the planters and the personnel of Petrobrás, either in the rural area or in the city of Salvador. From time to time the higher echelon employees of Petrobras are invited to larger parties given by the planters, and in return the planters are sometimes invited to parties at the refinery. But the plantation society is so closed and so firmly based on family relationships that it is difficult to maintain steady social relations with newcomers. In addition, the engineers and other specialists of the oil industry are principally oriented toward the capital city, and there is no serious attempt made to establish social relationships with the planters.

The sugar-cane workers for their part are so definitely plantation-oriented that they seek little diversion among the new oil workers. The unmarried field workers of Petrobrás who might be expected to establish relationships with the rural population seldom do so. They live in a fenced barracks area which immediately gives the impression of a group cut off from the rest of society. When they do seek entertainment they go as a rule to the factory nucleus, or to the town of Vila Recôncavo, or to the nearby town of Milagres.

Politically, this influx of new workers has had little in-

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1980-1981) 1987 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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Politically, this influx of new workers has had little influence. Local politics, at least, remain in the hands of the traditional landowners. However, national political parties other than that of the landowners are gaining force, especially the labor party, and within the near future there will undoubtedly be considerable modification in the voting patterns. The bulk of the rural population do not have the franchise because of their illiteracy. On the other hand, the petroleum workers, whose level of living is considerably higher than that of the rural population, have the franchise and according to law must exercise it.

A major area of change in the community is the class structure. In its main outlines the class structure remains the same, but there are some differences in emphasis. Class A, the rural upper class, which also is part of the upper class in the capital city where it resides part of the year, has been somewhat depleted. The Coronel and his son and son-in-law and their families, who constituted the family owner-directors of Usina São Pedro, are no longer part of the scene. As a result of the shift in ownership and direction the former usineiro has been replaced by paid employees. [1] Although these employees are related to the principal members of the new owning firm by marriage, they are treated as employees rather than as family members. They do not have the "social standing," meaning tradition, background, extended family relations, and the scholarly training, which distinguish the former owners. Class A therefore is now represented only by the private plantation owners.

On the other hand, Class B is slowly becoming larger in both the rural and the urban areas of the community, as a result of the addition of two new groups: the members of the new factory organization, and the petroleum workers with their much higher standard of living, considerably higher education, and their steady employment as members of a new bureaucracy, Petrobrás. Unmarried workers belonging to Petrobrás are to some extent seeking marital alliances with girls of the area, especially from the factory nucleus and from the town of Vila Recôncavo. In some cases legal and religious marriages have taken place. In other cases the couple has simply

1. The term usineiro is usually limited to the owner-director who is the founder of the factory, or is the son of the founder. When the director is a paid employee, he is just "the boss."

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58 begun to live together. But it is a general policy of Petrobrás that its employees establish regularized households and register their children, as the benefits of social legislation and insurance must be paid to legal beneficiaries, such as wives and children. Because of the many recent marriages, there are no longer any houses available in Vila Recôncavo, nor in Milagres, and there has been a spurt of housebuilding.

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178 There have also been some shifts in emphasis in the struc-
621 ture of the community. While the factory nucleus is no longer
*249 the scene of social gathering for the upper class of the area, the structure of the factory-private plantation system ensures that it continues to be the economic center as long as sugar cane is being planted in the area. The system of quotas established for the private planter and the factory by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol requires that planter and factory cooperate in supplying and receiving sugar cane. Also, the physical structure of the area, in which the factory is the center of the network of a small railroad which reaches out to each of the private properties, strengthens the impression of the factory as the center of activities.

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178 The possible future shift from sugar to cacao will of course
443 diminish the importance of the sugar factory. However, in the meantime there is a new factor which will give more importance than ever to the factory: a feira, or market place. The county of Vila Recôncavo does not have a weekly market. For many years the county officials have wanted to establish one, not only for increased municipal income, but also to help attract more people to the area and to make life easier for the population. A market place is now under construction at the factory nucleus. When the market is completed, the factory town will become at least a weekly center of attraction for many people of the surrounding plantations.

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178 The development of the petroleum industry is bringing new
315 life to the town of Vila Recôncavo, to the nearby town of Mi-
[311] lagres, and to the new city of Conselho. Petrobrás cannot develop a nucleus on the land which belongs to the factory or to the private owners, and therefore it must concentrate any local community building efforts in the old public towns which already exist. Petrobrás, indirectly, through the county court of Vila Recôncavo, will soon contribute considerably to the county income. The same sort of compensation which was worked out in regard to the planters is now being arranged for the county, through taxes on the finished products from

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the refinery, namely gasoline, kerosene, diesel oil, bottled gas, and other petroleum derivatives. As a result of the increased income, the county government will be able to build up the county seat considerably. A hospital is already being built, as well as a new dock for the boat which comes from the city.

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In Milagres, located in the neighboring county, there is already a considerable movement for breaking away from the parent county and becoming a separate municipio, a common pattern in Brazil for districts which reach a certain population and degree of economic activity. Thus there are two possibilities for urban growth in the area and for the formation of urban centers which will attract the large rural population. The town of Vila Recôncavo is close to realizing other possibilities. The construction of a road from the town to Centro has already begun, filling a long-felt need. Its completion will make it possible for cars, buses, and trucks to come from Feira, on the edge of the sertão, to Centro, down through Vila Recôncavo to Milagres, and on into the city, shortening the long trip by the existing road which follows the edges of the Recôncavo. Such traffic would "put Vila Recôncavo on the map," and would greatly increase its contacts with the outside world. In addition, the possibilities of the introduction of a new crop to the community will bring increased commercial activity and a much greater tax income, enabling the county to build its own roads and bridges and to make other improvements for the development of the area.

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Thus the community structure of Vila Recôncavo, which five years ago was in the process of crystallizing around the factory town, is now ripe for further change. The factory town continues for the present to be the major center, but the old county seat has all the possibilities of a rebirth of its former importance. In fact, because of the petroleum industry and the forthcoming changeover from sugar cane to cacao, the factory town is threatened as a community center, the position which it has only recently been consolidating.

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Finally, one of the most important changes in Vila Recôncavo in these five years is a change in attitude on the part of the people. Vila Recôncavo was always known as a conservative community, maintaining its old traditions and ways, rejecting innovations. However, there is now an air of expectancy and a search for new ways and new things. Dissatisfaction with the sugar industry, combined with the appearance

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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as the old patriarchal order continues to decline and industrialization increases; a shift which is intensified by the secularization deriving from the increasingly metropolitan character of the area and by the gradual emergence of new social groups. Have these and the other changes sketched above been sufficient to alter the character of the "racial" situation at Bahia since our original study was made? After a careful survey of the studies in the area in recent years, it seems to us that the evidence would lead one to agree with Wagley:[25] "Change has occurred, but *not* that much."

As Thales de Azevedo has pointed out (1955a:197), however, the possibilities of colored persons rising in class are increasing at Bahia; and many observers believe that this rise will continue to increase in the future. As this alteration in rank extends to continually larger and larger numbers of previously underprivileged individuals, greater strains and pressures probably will be exerted throughout the social order. For one thing, as Bahia continues to grow into a larger and larger metropolitan center, relations will be more difficult to maintain on a primary and face-to-face basis; and, for another, the anticipated industrialization, deriving from the extraction of petroleum resources in the area and the utilization of the recently-developed electric power on the São Francisco river, will in all likelihood augment the presently increasing anonymity and make relations more contractual and categoric. Moreover, as educational opportunities increase and extend downward further into the masses of previously unlettered individuals, thus adding to the effects of these other processes, the social order of Bahia may alter, perhaps markedly.

Wagley (1955:12) writes that "many" of the hypotheses

[25] In a letter to the author.